

corresponding resolution of ratification if the United States is to benefit from the provisions of the agreement and the U.S. chemical industry is not to suffer from the disadvantages imposed on chemical firms of non-Parties.

The Senate was on the verge of taking up the CWC on the floor through consideration of a resolution of ratification that I co-authored and which was reported out of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by a vote of 13-5 on April 30, 1996.

Given the arrival of new members to the Senate and the need for all members to inform themselves in the near term on the benefits and costs to the United States of full participation in the Convention, I am submitting in the form of a Sense of the Senate resolution the resolution of ratification that was to have served as the vehicle for debate in the Senate during the 104th Congress.

It is my hope that this will be helpful to all Senators and can serve as an important benchmark for a more constructive exchange during the 105th Congress on the subject of ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention.

SENATE RESOLUTION 18—RELATIVE TO THE NATIONAL DEBT

Mr. FAIRCLOTH submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Budget and the Committee on Governmental Affairs, jointly, pursuant to the order of August 4, 1977 with instructions that if one committee reports, the other committee has thirty days to report or be discharged:

S. RES. 18

Whereas the United States national debt is approximately \$4.9 trillion;

Whereas the Congress has authorized the national debt by law to reach \$5.5 trillion;

Whereas it is likely that the 105th Congress and the President will both present plans to balance the budget by the year 2002, by which time our national debt will be approximately \$6.5 trillion.

Whereas this accumulated debt represents a significant financial burden that will require excessive taxation and lost economic opportunity for future generations of the United States;

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that any comprehensive legislation that balances the budget by a certain date and that is agreed to by the Congress and the President shall also contain a strategy for reducing the national debt of the United States.

SENATE RESOLUTION 19—RELATIVE TO GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Mr. MOYNIHAN (for himself, Mr. HELMS, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. DODD, Mr. FEINGOLD, and Mr. WELLSTONE) submitted the following resolution: which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 19

Whereas the Chinese Government sentenced Ngawang Choephel to an 18 year prison term plus four years subsequent depriva-

tion of his political rights on December 26, 1996, following a secret trial;

Whereas Mr. Choephel is a Tibetan national whose family fled Chinese oppression to live in exile in India in 1968;

Whereas Mr. Choephel, studied ethnomusicology at Middlebury College in Vermont as a Fulbright Scholar, and at the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts in Dharamsala, India;

Whereas Mr. Choephel returned to Tibet in July, 1995 to prepare a documentary film about traditional Tibetan performing arts;

Whereas Mr. Choephel was detained in August, 1995 by the Chinese authorities and held incommunicado for over a year before the Government of the People's Republic of China admitted to holding him, and finally charged him with espionage in October, 1996;

Whereas there is no evidence that Mr. Choephel's activities in Tibet involved anything other than purely academic research;

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China denies Tibetans their fundamental human rights, as reported in the State Department's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, and by human rights organizations including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, Asia;

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China is responsible for the destruction of much of Tibetan civilization since its invasion of Tibet in 1949;

Whereas the arrest of Tibetan scholar, such as Mr. Choephel who worked to preserve Tibetan culture, reflects the systematic attempt by the Government of the People's Republic of China to repress cultural expression in Tibet;

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China, through direct and indirect incentives, has established discriminatory development programs which have resulted in an overwhelming flow of Chinese immigrants into Tibet, including those areas incorporated into the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, Gansu, and Qinghai, and have excluded Tibetans from participation in important policy decisions, which further threatens traditional Tibetan life;

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China withholds meaningful participation in the governance of Tibet from Tibetans and has failed to abide by its own constitutional guarantee of autonomy of Tibetans;

Whereas the Dalai Lama of Tibet has stated his willingness to enter into negotiations with the Chinese and has repeatedly accepted the framework Deng Xiaoping proposed for such negotiations in 1979;

Whereas the United States Government has not developed an effective plan to win support in international fora, such as the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, to bring international pressure to bear on the Government of the People's Republic of China to improve human rights and to negotiate with the Dalai Lama;

Whereas the Chinese have displayed provocative disregard for American concerns by arresting and sentencing prominent dissidents around the time that senior United States Government officials have visited China;

Whereas United States Government policy seeks to foster negotiations between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Dalai Lama, and presses China to respect Tibet's unique religious, linguistic and cultural traditions. Now, therefore, be it hereby

Resolved by the Senate that, It is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) Ngawang Choephel and other prisoners of conscience in Tibet, as well as in China, should be released immediately and unconditionally;

(2) to underscore the gravity of this matter, in all official meetings with representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China, U.S. officials should request Mr. Choephel's immediate and unconditional release;

(3) the United States Government should take prompt action to sponsor and promote a resolution at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights regarding China and Tibet which specifically addresses political prisoners and negotiations with the Dalai Lama;

(4) an exchange program should be established in honor on Ngawang Choephel, involving students of the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts and appropriate educational institutions in the United States; and,

(5) the United States Government should seek access for internationally recognized human rights groups to monitor human rights in Tibet.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I rise to submit a resolution in response to the egregious prison sentence which was recently imposed by the Chinese Government on Ngawang Choephel.

Mr. Choephel is a Tibetan whose family fled Chinese oppression to live in exile in India in 1968. He studied ethnomusicology at Middlebury College in Vermont as a Fulbright Scholar in 1992 and 1993, after having studied at the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts in Dharamsala, India. The Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts was formed by the Dalai Lama to preserve the Tibetan performing arts while in exile.

Mr. Choephel returned to Tibet in July, 1995 to prepare a documentary film about traditional Tibetan performing arts. He was detained in August, 1995 by the Chinese authorities and held incommunicado for over a year before the Government of the People's Republic of China admitted to holding him, and finally charged him with espionage in October, 1996.

On December 26, 1996, the Chinese Government sentenced Ngawang Choephel to an 18 year prison term plus four years subsequent deprivation of his political rights following a secret trial. This is the most severe sentence of a Tibetan by the Chinese Government in seven years.

There is no evidence that Mr. Choephel's activities in Tibet involved anything other than purely academic research. His arrest and the long sentence subsequently imposed appear to stem from his collecting information to preserve Tibetan performing arts. Such censure is indicative of the extreme measures the Chinese Government continues to take to repress all forms of Tibetan cultural expression. My daughter, Maura Moynihan, has traveled to Tibet several times. After her most recent trip last year, she wrote in the Washington Post of the Chinese assault on Tibetan religion and culture:

Beijing's leaders have renewed their assault on Tibetan culture, especially Buddhism, with an alarming vehemence. The rhetoric and the methods of the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s have been resurrected—reincarnated, what you will—to shape an aggressive campaign to vilify the Dalai Lama.

The New York Times echoed just such sentiments in its January 2 editorial on Ngawang Choephel's arrest:

The basis of Ngawang Choephel's conviction is unclear, but even taping Tibetan culture for export could qualify as espionage under Chinese law. Since its invasion of Tibet in 1950, Beijing has gradually increased its efforts to erase Tibet's identity. China has arrested those who protested the takeover and tried to eradicate the people's affection for the leader of Tibetan Buddhism, the Dalai Lama.

Ngawang Choephel is a symbol of the Chinese Government's continued pursuit of Maoist policies when dealing with what it sees as the "Tibet problem." Tibetan religion and culture are seen by the Chinese as an impediment to successfully unifying Tibet with the "motherland."

This resolution will record the United States Senate's response to these Chinese policies, which we reject. In the words of the International Commission of Jurists in 1960, "Tibet demonstrated from 1913 to 1950 the conditions of statehood as generally accepted under international law." We will continue to stand with the Tibetan people. As the Senate recorded in 1991 in S. Res. 107:

* * * the government of the People's Republic of China should know that as the Tibetan people and His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet go forward on their journey toward freedom the Congress and the people of the United States stand with them.

I thank all my colleagues who have cosponsored this resolution. In particular I would like to recognize the long commitment that the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee has shown in support of Tibetans and thank him for joining me in this effort today.

I would especially note the work of the senior Senator from Vermont, Mr. LEAHY. Since Mr. Choephel was reported missing, Senator LEAHY has sought to win his release. In November, Senator LEAHY, while traveling on a delegation to China with the Senate Democratic Leader and other Senators, raised his concerns directly to Chinese President Jiang Zemin. I thank Senator LEAHY for his commitment to this issue and for agreeing to cosponsor this measure.

I ask unanimous consent to have the New York Times editorial on this subject placed in the RECORD.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 2, 1997]

A PRISON TERM IN TIBET

Last week, the Chinese Government gave a 30-year-old scholar of Tibetan music an 18-year prison sentence for espionage. Even by Chinese standards, the sentence is astonishingly long. It is also a warning to Tibetans that their already scarce liberties are now further endangered.

Ngawang Choephel fled Tibet with his family when he was 2 to the Tibetan exile community in Dharmasala, India. He came to the United States in 1993 to study and teach at Middlebury College. In 1995 he went to Tibet to capture on video traditional songs and dances that he feared were being lost.

The basis of Ngawang Choephel's conviction is unclear, but even taping Tibetan culture

for export could qualify as espionage under Chinese law. Since its invasion of Tibet in 1950, Beijing has gradually increased its efforts to erase Tibet's identity. China has arrested those who protested the takeover and tried to eradicate the people's affection for the leader of Tibetan Buddhism, the Dalai Lama.

In the 1960's and 1970's, the Chinese killed thousands of monks and nuns and destroyed virtually all Tibet's monasteries. China later tried a slightly softer line, but riots in 1987 brought another crackdown. Monks have been asked to rededicate the Dalai Lama or face expulsion, and at least 700 Tibetans are now in prison for political offenses.

China's repressive policy is wrong both morally and politically. By smothering Tibetans' ability to speak, worship freely, or express their culture, China risks driving them to violence. Last week, a powerful, sophisticated bomb blew up outside a Government building in Lhasa. Although the Dalai Lama has never wavered in his commitment to nonviolence and denies any link to the bomb, the Government quickly blamed the bomb on "the Dalai clique" and has vowed to retaliate.

The Chinese Government went out of its way to link Ngawang Choephel to the United States, charging that Americans underwrote his trip and that he was gathering information for a foreign agency. Indeed, Chinese officials seem to delight in taunting the United States over human rights issues. During a visit by Secretary of State Warren Christopher in 1994, Beijing arrested China's leading democracy campaigner, Wei Jingsheng. In May of that year, Washington ended the linkage between China's behavior on human rights and its preferential trading status. Only two months later, hard-liners at a Communist Party meeting pushed through a policy that increased Chinese control of Tibet.

To be sure, American officials have scolded Beijing about human rights abuses in Tibet, Hong Kong, and China itself. But the Chinese know they can safely ignore such talk. The Clinton Administration, unwilling to damage its relations with Beijing, has failed to impose any real cost on Chinese repression. Whether or not Beijing intended Ngawang Choephel's sentence as a specific message to Washington, Washington should read it as an indication of China's continuing contempt for its weak defense of Tibetan rights.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I want to thank Senator MOYNIHAN for submitting this resolution on the first legislative day of the 105th Congress in support of Ngawang Choephel and other prisoners of conscience in Tibet.

I first learned about the detention of Tibetan music and dance scholar and former Middlebury College student Ngawang Choephel about a year ago. Students and faculty at Middlebury were leading a letter-writing campaign to urge Chinese authorities to release information about their friend and colleague, who had traveled in 1995 to Tibet to make a documentary film of traditional Tibetan dance and music after spending several months as a Fulbright scholar at Middlebury. No one had seen or heard from Mr. Choephel, until an exiled Tibetan reported seeing him in a Tibetan prison.

I wrote to the head of the Chinese Communist Party to find out what I could about Mr. Choephel's whereabouts, his health, the evidence against him, and whether he had access to a

lawyer. I received no reply. I inquired further. Finally, in October, more than a year after his detention, Chinese authorities reported that Mr. Choephel was charged with violating the State Security Law. He was accused of espionage, and it was insinuated that he was a spy financed by the United States Government. No evidence to support such a claim has ever been produced. The State Department issued a statement calling for Mr. Choephel's release.

There is no evidence that Mr. Choephel was engaged in any improper activity or even any political activity whatsoever during his trip to Tibet. The 16 hours of film Mr. Choephel sent to India during the first weeks of his project contain the traditional music and dance that he intended to document. Like the State Department, I believe that the Chinese have made a terrible mistake in this case.

In November, I accompanied Senator DASCHLE on a trip to China. In meetings with President Jiang Zemin and other officials, I raised Ngawang Choephel's case and urged the President to look into it personally. I have received no response to those inquiries. Only weeks after returning from Beijing, I learned that Mr. Choephel had been sentenced to 18 years in prison, and I immediately wrote again to President Jiang Zemin, urging that Mr. Choephel be released.

Mr. Choephel's reported confession, secret trial, and unusually long prison sentence underscore the longstanding disregard for the rule of law and the lack of respect for political and cultural rights in Tibet and China. Mr. Choephel is one of thousands who have been persecuted for attempting to preserve what remains of Tibetan culture.

The resolution introduced by Senator MOYNIHAN calls on the Chinese Government to release Mr. Choephel unconditionally. It also calls on United States officials to raise his case in all meetings with Chinese authorities, to support a resolution on human rights in Tibet and China in the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, to urge the Chinese to allow international human rights groups to monitor human rights in Tibet, and to support an exchange program for Tibetan students.

These are measures that will emphasize the importance the United States Senate places on improving respect for human rights in China and Tibet. It is particularly important that the administration takes a stronger position in support of the resolution on China and Tibet in the U.N. Human Rights Commission this year.

Mr. President, I want to thank Senator MOYNIHAN again for his concern and his leadership on Tibet over the years. I urge all Senators to support this resolution.